

**Abstract:**

This article uses Text World Theory (Werth 1999; Gavins 2007) in conjunction with VUE (Visual Understanding Environment) concept mapping software to analyze three statements from the trial of Amanda Knox, who was charged (along with her boyfriend, Raffaele Sollecito) with the murder of Meredith Kercher in 2007. We compare the cognitive patterns (i.e. text-worlds) as reflected in Knox's statements and use the insights gained to guide an examination of their individual linguistic features and associated potential legal implications. In the first two dictated statements, Knox is projected as an *actor* responsible for the reported actions/events that implicate her in the crime, whereas in the third statement (handwritten in English), she is projected as a *senser*, presenting more prominent epistemic uncertainty and indicating bewilderment. Further micro-level linguistic comparison indicates signs of textual alteration in the first two statements, i.e. crucial text was altered and thus resulted in a change of meaning and legal significance.

**Keywords:** Text World Theory, legal discourse, epistemic (un)certainty, Amanda Knox, Meredith Kercher, VUE concept mapping software.

# **Projecting (un)certainty: A text-world analysis of three statements from the Meredith Kercher murder case**

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## **1. Introduction**

Text World Theory (hereafter TWT) is a cognitive model of discourse processing developed originally by Werth (1995, 1999), to describe and track how language users create a dynamic representation of events in their minds as they read or communicate. As part of the realization of this aim, Werth posits the existence of text-worlds, i.e. mental constructs which we form in order to conceptualize and understand discourse. Much of Werth's original work on TWT focused on the analysis of literary examples. Gavins (2005, 2007) has revised Werth's original model and extended its reach, in part by demonstrating its potential for the analysis of a wide variety of text-types beyond literature (see also Giovanelli 2010; Browse 2016a, b; Lugea 2016; Van der Bom 2016 for more TWT applications to non-literary discourse). More recently, Gavins & Simpson (2015) have used TWT to investigate how an alleged racist event was discursively constructed in both the media and in the hearing of the case at London Westminster Magistrates' Court. Gavins & Simpson's (2015) article illustrates the value of TWT as a mechanism for understanding both a complex legal case and the complex language data at the heart of it. As part of the testing of TWT's applicability to legal discourse, in this article we apply it to the analysis of three statements made to the Italian police by Amanda Knox,<sup>1</sup> the American woman being charged with the murder of her housemate, British student Meredith Kercher, in Perugia in 2007.

The Meredith Kercher murder case involves three countries and has attracted international media attention for more than seven years (2007-2015). Kercher was found dead in her apartment in Perugia on 2 November 2007. Incriminated by physical evidence at the scene, Rudy Guede, a burglar, was convicted of murder and aggravated sexual assault. Kercher's housemate, Amanda Knox, and Knox's Italian boyfriend, Raffaele Sollecito, were charged with having colluded in her murder. Knox and Sollecito were first convicted in 2009 and sentenced to lengthy jail terms but after re-examining the evidence, in 2011 the appeal court quashed the guilty convictions and both were released. In 2014, following a retrial, their acquittals were

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<sup>1</sup> The data under analysis are taken from the Meredith Kercher murder case. We have chosen this case for two reasons. First, acquiring access to authentic crime data has been a tricky and sensitive area, as it involves serious moral and legal concerns. We thus have to opt for a criminal case file that has been made open source. Secondly, this case is chosen because of its great complexity (in particular, the complexity arising from multifaceted interpretations of forensic evidence and contested statements) and the fact that this has resulted in multiple appeals against the outcome of the original trial (two convictions and two acquittals). It thus makes an ideal test case for developing the analysis of the kind we propose.

overturned. The case was finally brought to an end on 27 March 2015, when Italy's Supreme Court annulled the previous convictions and definitively exonerated Knox and Sollecito of the murder.

This case stirred up intense discussion and controversy across worldwide media; scholars have also attempted to examine this case from various perspectives. For example, Mirabella (2012) focuses on assessing Italy's criminal justice system. Page (2014) explores Wikipedia as a site for positioning counter and dominant narratives of this case and examines the mechanisms that are used to prioritize different dominant narratives over time and across different cultural contexts. Her analysis shows that the counter-narratives of the suspects' guilt or innocence (specifically the position of Amanda Knox as villain or victim) depended on national context, and changed over time. Her findings are reflected in Gies & Bortoluzzi's (2014) study. They examine the contested discourses of two principal online communities devoted to the case (pro-innocence vs. pro-guilt) and illustrate how social media are becoming a prominent player in the pursuit of justice. Following the final verdict in 2015, Gill (2016) carries out an extensive review of the case to discover the flawed practice that led to the original convictions of Knox and Sollecito; his study focuses especially on the interpretation of the DNA evidence and the illogicality of the previous court proceedings.

Taking a cognitive linguistics approach to discourse analysis, this article examines the three controversial statements Amanda Knox made to the police on 6 November 2007, the day she was arrested. The statements, hereafter referred to as S1, S2, and S3, are listed in the Appendix,<sup>2</sup> with sentences numbered for ease of reference. In Section 2, we begin with a brief introduction to Text World Theory and explain its potential value to examining legal discourse. In Section 3 we then proceed to a text-world analysis of the three statements. We first describe the legal context, police interrogation protocol, discourse structures, and the translation issues involved in the statements in question (3.1). We also describe VUE (Visual Understanding Environment), a concept mapping tool that we used to aid the production of text-world diagrams of the three statements to support our analysis (3.2). We then examine the cognitive patterns (i.e. text-worlds) as reflected in the statements (3.3) and analyze the discourse function,

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<sup>2</sup> All of the documents cited in this article were obtained from *The Murder Of Meredith Kercher Wiki Site* (<http://themurderofmeredithkercher.com>, last accessed on 03/11/2017), a website created by a group of volunteer editors in support of justice to Meredith Kercher (some are professional translators and some have expertise in certain relevant areas, such as forensics, DNA, IT or criminal law) to inform the English-speaking world about the case by providing a unique collection of translations of original documents and evidence presented at trial. As indicated in the web mission statement, the translation was done to ensure that the facts are readily available to the public without selective emphasis, misstatement or bias, and has gone through multiple rounds of proofreading and editing, to harmonize the language and to ensure its accuracy.

communicative purpose, and potential interpretative legal significance of each statement (3.4). A further micro-level linguistic stylistic analysis follows in Section 4, to explore why Knox presents contested statements (S1, S2 vs. S3) and if the confessions that she made in S1 and S2 are possibly false confessions. Via this case study, we hope to demonstrate that the cognitive model of Text World Theory could be usefully applied to examining legal texts for the interests of justice.

## 2. Text World Theory

As a cognitive linguistic model of discourse processing, Text World Theory (Werth 1999; Gavins 2007) aims to account for how participants manage the language and communication. TWT posits that all discourse situations are divisible into three manageable levels of conceptual activity. These are identified by the terms *discourse-world*, *text-world*, and *world-switch*.

**Discourse-world** refers to the real-life context in which the language event takes place. It comprises the discourse participants, their immediate physical surroundings, and the personal or cultural knowledge/experience that the participants draw on to understand and process the language. Discourse-world can involve face-to-face communication (e.g. social interactions in a party or formal discussions in a meeting), or they can be “split” (Gavins 2007: 26), as is the case in a telephone conversation (where the two parties on the phone are separated in space) or in a novel (where the author and readers are separated in both time and space).

**Text-worlds** are then created in the minds of the discourse participants, being invoked by the language used in a given discourse context. For instance, an interactant in a conversation will form a mental representation of the discourse on the basis of linguistic cues in their interlocutor’s speech; they will use this to process and conceptualize what is being conveyed. Similarly, readers of fiction will construct mental representations based on their reading and thus experience the effect of entering the fictional world of the narrative and moving around within it.

Each text-world (i.e. mental representation) has its own spatio-temporal parameters, meaning that a person experiencing this world must reset his/her deictic orientation by responding to the contextual information of time, location, and people (i.e. *enactors*) provided in the text. Those features of language are called **world-building elements**. Werth (1999: 180) describes a text-world as “a deictic space, defined initially by the discourse itself, and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it”. Take sentence 3 of Knox’s first statement (see Appendix), for example, the linguistic reference to time (*Last Thursday 1st November*), location (*the apartment of my boyfriend*), and people (*I, Raffaele, Patrick*) function as linguistic cues which we use to construct a mental representation of the situation described by Knox.

As the discourse proceeds, due to the diverse and varying topics, the deictic parameters established in the initial text-world will change constantly throughout the discourse and

multiple text-worlds may occur. Thus, the participants are actively involved in constructing and updating text-worlds in their minds. **Function-advancing propositions** in some way are employed by the participants to develop and advance the text-worlds, and to drive the discourse forwards in order to achieve certain communicative purposes. Function-advancing propositions are realized in verb groups and mapped onto the categorization system developed in Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), such that TWT distinguishes between *material*, *mental*, and *relational* process types.

For ease of understanding these process types and how they can be applied to examine the legal texts under study, Table 1 illustrates these concepts using examples taken from Knox's statements. **Material process** refers to physical actions or happenings in the real world; it describes processes of *doing* and *happening*. **Mental process** indicates process of *sensing* (i.e. happenings within one's consciousness). Verbs of perceiving (perception), thinking (cognition), and feeling (affection) are included in this group. **Relational process** indicates states of *being* (including *having*) and serve to identify or to attribute characteristics.

Process types	Subcategories	Examples
<b>Material</b>	<b>event</b> (i.e. happening) <b>action</b> (i.e. doing)	<i>I <u>received</u> a message from Patrick.</i> <i>He <u>killed</u> her.</i>
<b>Mental</b>	<b>perception</b> <b>cognition</b> <b>affection</b>	<i>I <u>saw</u> Patrick in flashes, blurred images.</i> <i>I do not <u>remember</u> anything.</i> <i>These events have deeply <u>bothered</u> me.</i>
<b>Relational</b>	<b>attribution</b> <b>identification</b>	<i>Patrick <u>is</u> about 170 cm tall...</i> <i>One of these people <u>is</u> Patrick.</i>

Table 1. Examples of process types

Given that these process types are often used to represent or construe human experience, i.e. to describe the happenings and states of the real (and unreal) world, all of them contribute towards building and/or advancing text-worlds in a discourse. (**NB:** due to the identifying or attributive characteristics, relational process type usually carries with a dual world-building and function-advancing role.)

As stated earlier, throughout the discourse, multiple text-worlds may occur. TWT aims to capture such dynamic nature of the discourse process through the notion of **world-switches** (Gavins 2005, 2007). World-switches in a text may be indicated by a deictic shift in time and/or location. When the spatio-temporal information is altered directly by discourse participants describing their outer experience of action/event, e.g. through a shift in tense or the use of a spatial or temporal adverbial, a deictic world-switch occurs (for example, S1 – sentence 6, *I met Patrick soon after at the basketball court of piazza Grimana and we went home*).

Sometimes discourse participants may project an inaccessible state of affairs, for example,

entering into one's mind by means of expressing desire, wishes, obligation, knowledge, beliefs or doubt, etc (see Coates 1983; Palmer 1986; Nuyts 2001). Given that these types of mental representations (i.e. modalized propositions) usually convey a particular attitude or epistemic distance to the proposition being expressed, they stipulate situations which cannot (as yet) be confirmed (Werth 1995: 75) and, as such, are categorized as *modal-worlds* in TWT terms. Thus, a modalized proposition usually triggers a switch to a 'modal-world'. The sentence *I do not remember if Meredith was already there* (S1 – sentence 7) is an example indicating a switch (from sentence 6) to an epistemic modal-world triggered by the modal lexical verb *remember* (see Figure 2 below for an overview of the world-switches in S1).

Before we proceed to our text-world analysis in next section, we shall sum up the principal analytical categories of Text World Theory via Table 2.

<b>World-building elements:</b>	
• Time	temporal location
• Location	spatial location
• Participants / Enactors	the inhabitants in discourse-world / text-world
<b>Function-advancing propositions:</b>	
• Material process	processes of <i>doing</i> and <i>happening</i>
• Mental process	processes of <i>sensing</i> (seeing, feeling or thinking, etc.)
• Relational processes	states of <i>being</i> or <i>having</i>
<b>World-switch possibilities:</b>	
• Deictic world-switch	based on changes in time and/or location
• Attitudinal modal-world	based on expressions of desire, wishes, duty, obligation
• Epistemic modal-world	based on expressions of knowledge, belief (certainty/uncertainty), or hypothetical expressions

Table 2. Principal analytical categories of Text World Theory

The world-building elements form a kind of static conceptual backdrop (i.e. situational context involving people) against which certain actions/events/states are evolved therein. Function-advancing propositions work to develop and advance the text-worlds and drive the discourse forwards. Given the dynamic nature of discourse process, in addition to frequent cognitive switches from one location/time to another (e.g. a deictic world-switch such as flashback), there can also be switches to modal-worlds triggered by linguistic expressions indicting attitudes or knowledge/belief regarding a particular topic.

It is envisaged that the TWT framework provides a comprehensive toolkit for accounting for all the facts that are put forward in a legal case. In effect, world-building elements encompass WHO-WHEN-WHERE information regarding the “world” (e.g. a legal discourse setting such as police station or courtroom, or the text-worlds constructed from the narrative accounts provided by a victim, witness, or suspect). Function-advancing propositions and world-switches

cover WHAT HAPPENED in the discourse. All of these components constitute key factors in criminal investigation and judicial reasoning. As a result, linguistic analysis of the subtle spatio/temporal world-switches and the switches to epistemic modal-worlds projected in legal texts (suspect/witness statements in particular) is likely to be of significant value: (a) in tracking who is doing what with whom in a particular place at a particular time, and (b) in examining the overall cognitive process and the degree of epistemic (un)certainly underlying each statement.

In the discourse-world of a court case, we can identify a set of participants sharing the same immediate and ontological environment: the judge, jury, lawyers, and any witnesses who testify. Witnesses are open to questioning about what they say. However, not all of their reported events would be considered as admissible evidence in the jury's decision-making process. In TWT terms, the principle of *(in)accessibility* with respect to domains of the worlds is a key concept that considers whether the discourse participants have sufficient information available to them to assess the truth value of a particular piece of information. For example, what a witness has seen is accessible through questioning; what a witness has heard from someone else, however, is *inaccessible* by other co-participants and its truthfulness thus remains unverified in that discourse-world (Werth 1999: 214; Gavins 2007: 77-78). The value of this for legal text analysis is that the principle of *accessibility* or *inaccessibility* of text-worlds might be applied in the assessment of whether a given proposition is verifiable (admissible) or unverifiable (inadmissible) as evidence to a court of law. We will return to this point later when referring to Knox's "dream" world in her third statement.

### 3. A text-world analysis of Knox's three statements to police

#### 3.1 Context, police interrogation protocol, discourse structure, and translation issues

After the discovery of Meredith Kercher's body on 2 November 2007, Amanda Knox went to the police station several times to testify as a witness. In the late evening of 5 November, Raffaele Sollecito was called to the police station to clarify some inconsistencies in his original statement. Knox accompanied him there and stayed in the waiting room. Sollecito, when confronted by the police about the inconsistencies in his statement, rescinded his original claim that Knox had been with him on the night of the murder, thereby removing his support for Knox's alibi; Sollecito now said that she might have gone out on the night of the murder and he had been home alone. The police took the opportunity to question Knox, focusing particularly on the text message she had sent in reply to Patrick Lumumba, the owner of the bar where she worked part-time. Later on, Knox signed two official statements to police, saying that she had been at the crime scene when Kercher was killed, that she *vaguely remember[ed]* that *Patrick had sex with Meredith* and that *he killed her* (see Appendix for S1 and S2 Italian originals and the associated English translations). Knox, Sollecito and Lumumba were soon arrested. On the evening of 6 November, Knox gave a handwritten statement to the police, in

which she tried to explain her previous two statements.

S1 and S2 were made at 01:45am and 05:45am respectively, and in these two statements Knox implicates herself as being at the crime scene and accuses Lumumba of being the real murderer.<sup>3</sup> S3 was handwritten in English by Knox and given to the police in the evening on 6 November. In this statement she attempts to clarify what happened on the night of the murder. Before comparing the three statements, it is necessary to first clarify the police interrogation protocol, as well as the translation parameters involved in S1 and S2 which result in differences in discourse structure between those statements and S3.

Following the police interrogation protocol, police interviews usually incorporate two stages: (i) asking the potential suspect/witness a series of questions relating to the incident under investigation, and then (ii) taking the suspect/witness's dictation down in writing (Olsson 1997; Heydon 2005). In Knox's case, the interviews that resulted in S1 and S2 were conducted in Italian, with the presence of an interpreter/translator (Anna Donnino) to enable all parties involved to communicate effectively with one another. As a result, the discourse structures and the text production processes involved in S1 and S2 are different from those of S3. As summarized in Figure 1 below, S3 was handwritten by Knox in her native language when she was alone, with no other discourse participants around, and no dictation/translation parameters involved.

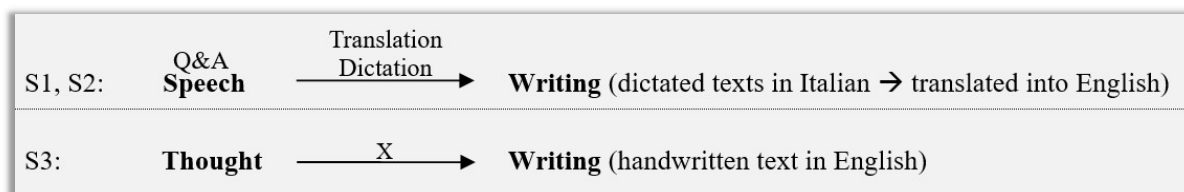


Figure 1. Discourse structure differences between S1, S2, and S3

In our subsequent analysis section, we focus particularly on examining the epistemic (un)certainty of Knox's propositions, using Text World Theory to track the differences in functional effects between the three statements. To support this analysis, we made use of VUE (Visual Understanding Environment), a concept mapping tool that we used to diagram and visualize the text-worlds projected by the three statements. In the following section, we explain VUE and its useful application to Text World Theory analysis.

### 3.2 Diagramming software: VUE

Text World Theory was developed initially to account for how readers build mental representations of fictional worlds as they read. While not essential for such an analysis,

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<sup>3</sup> The false accusation led to Knox's conviction of slander on Patrick Lumumba in the murder trial (along with the conviction on charges of faking a break-in, sexual violence, and murder). She had already served a three-year sentence for falsely implicating Lumumba.



visualization techniques have been used since Text World Theory's inception to plot the conceptual structures of particularly complex discourse. Conventional diagrams visually represent discourse processing through multi-layered boxes (i.e. text-worlds) with arrows indicating the linking or nesting relations between worlds (see Gavins 2007: 93 for a typical example). The value of such diagrams lies in their capacity to distil complexity and to indicate conceptual patterns in the data. However, manual techniques are prohibitive when it comes to producing visualizations of long stretches of texts and analytically complex datasets. To this end, in order to diagram the text-worlds projected in the three statements under analysis, we make use of VUE, concept mapping software developed by Tufts University.<sup>4</sup> The use of software for visualization purposes is a new departure for Text World Theory (for the pioneering employment of VUE for text-world diagramming, see Lugea 2012, 2016).

The particular value of VUE is its capacity for storing multiple layers of information, which can then be viewed individually or conflated. Thus, VUE offers a means of visualizing the dynamic structure of discourse, wherein text-worlds may be nested inside each other. VUE utilizes "maps" and each map includes a "map info" view, where information about discourse participants, world-building elements, and function-advancing propositions can all be recorded. VUE's interactive *Zoom* feature allows the user to draw a diagram of any size, to zoom in to get a close-up view of the file, and to zoom out to see more of the page at a reduced size, thereby facilitating the observance of patterns in the data. The *Pathways* feature enables the user to create custom "trails" through nodes (boxes) in the map. It is particularly useful in highlighting specifically marked content (for instance, modalized propositions in our study) while at the same time maintaining a sense of its overall context within a VUE map. Our analysis in the next section makes use of VUE to construct the text-world structures as reflected in the three statements by Knox. (**NB:** It should be mentioned that the figures below are used to illustrate the use of VUE in our diagramming process to underpin the qualitative analysis of the statements. As we are unable to present the interactive Zoom features, some of the figures may be unclear in view of textual details.)

### 3.3 Text-world structures of the three statements

Our analysis in this section is focused particularly on epistemic modality as conveyed in the statements. Epistemic modality covers a wide spectrum of belief, from absolute certainty at one end of the scale to complete lack of confidence at the other (Lyons 1977; Perkins 1983; Nuyts 2001). Through the modal system, we are able to examine Knox's statements in terms of the varying degrees of confidence she expresses in her commitment to the truth of her propositions. In this section, we first describe the diagramming process of S1 in detail, so as to illustrate how

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<sup>4</sup> VUE (<http://vue.tufts.edu/>) is free to download and compatible with all operating systems. It provides a flexible visual environment for structuring, presenting and sharing digital information.

we construct the text-worlds as projected in each statement for cross comparison.

The text-world diagram of S1 starts with the initial police interview setting, which is constructed based on the world-building elements specified at the beginning of the official legal document: i.e. *at the police station in Perugia, at 1:45 am on 6 November 2007*, populated by Amanda Knox, the chief inspector, two police officers, and the interpreter (see Appendix). We use the rectangular box to indicate the legal discourse context recorded in the document (which we refer to as textual Discourse-World in the diagram). We use rounded rectangular boxes shaded with different grey scales to indicate different types of text-worlds (TWs) evoked by Knox's personal account relating the past events. Light grey is used to represent text-worlds that project outer experience of happenings (something that is going on *out there* in reality), for example, categorical material process of action or event such as *I will provide...., I received a message....* By contrast, dark grey is used to indicate modal-worlds that project *inner* experience (something that is going on *inside* oneself, e.g. cognition, emotion, and imagination, etc). The sentence *I vaguely remember that he killed her* (S1 – sentence 9) is a typical example of internal modalized projection; the proposition (*he killed her*) projected within such modal-world is stored as possible situation, which thus needs to be examined further for its factuality or credibility. Arrows are used to indicate the cognitive process as the discourse proceeds, i.e. a deictic world-switch or a switch to a modal-world.

Thus, following the TWT framework and the marking styles specified above, Figure 2 presents the overall cognitive structure of text-worlds as projected in S1.

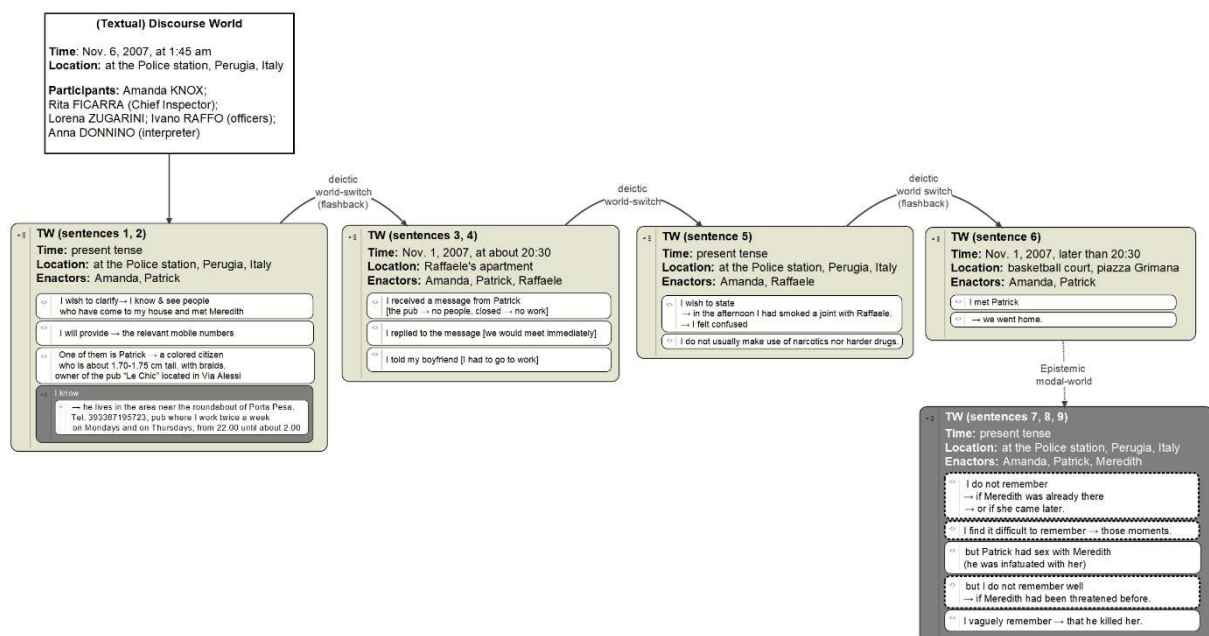


Figure 2. Statement 1 text-worlds diagram

In S1, there are total 9 sentences in Knox's first-person narration. The propositions that trigger the initial text-world (sentences 1-2) are in the present tense; at the police station in

Perugia, Knox states that she knows those people who often visit the house she shared with Kercher and that she will provide the police with their contact information, including Patrick Lumumba's. She then gives detailed information about Lumumba. Following this, we then identify three deictic world-switches, two of which are flashbacks (sentences 3, 4, and 6 respectively, as shown in the close-up view in Figure 3 below), in which Knox reflects on what happened on 1 November, the night of the murder.

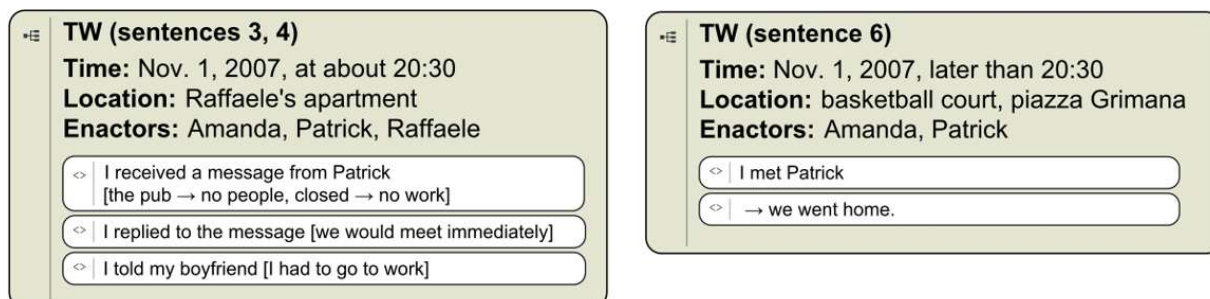


Figure 3. Knox's flashbacks on the murder night in S1

In these flashbacks, Knox places herself at the crime scene, as indicated in the text message she sent in reply to Patrick Lumumba – *we would meet immediately*, and in the affirmative declarations: *I met Patrick at the basketball court*, and then *we went home*. What happens next in Knox's statement is a switch to an epistemic modal-world (in sentences 7-9, as shown in Figure 4), where Knox shows various degrees of (un)certainty with regard to what actually happened on the night after *[they] went home* (i.e. the crime scene).

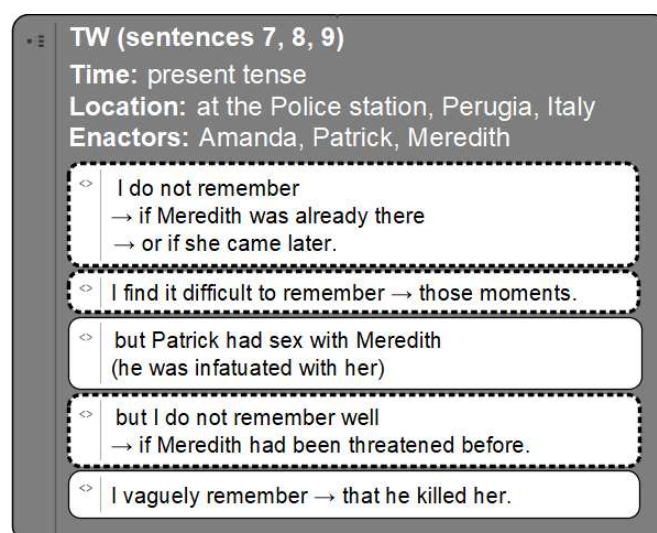


Figure 4. Epistemic modal-world in S1

It should be noted that, within the modal world, the propositions with strong epistemic uncertainty (e.g. *I do not remember...*; *I find it difficult to remember...*) are systematically marked with dashed boxes. By contrast, the propositions with relatively positive certainty remain unmarked (e.g. *but Patrick had sex with Meredith*) (for the literature on modality and

certainty/uncertainty, see Coates 1983; Perkins 1983; Palmer 1986).

The resulting text-worlds diagram (Figure 2) provides an overview of the conceptual pattern in the discourse; it allows us to observe the degree of epistemic (un)certainty on the part of Knox regarding her propositions. As mentioned earlier, one of the useful features in VUE is the *Pathways* function. This feature is useful for highlighting particular marked information in a group for ease of observing associated patterns while at the same time maintaining a sense of the overall context. Using the *Pathways* function, Figures 5 and 6 below illustrate two different groups of epistemic (certain vs. uncertain) information in S1 (with emphasis highlighted to be compared with the information in S2).

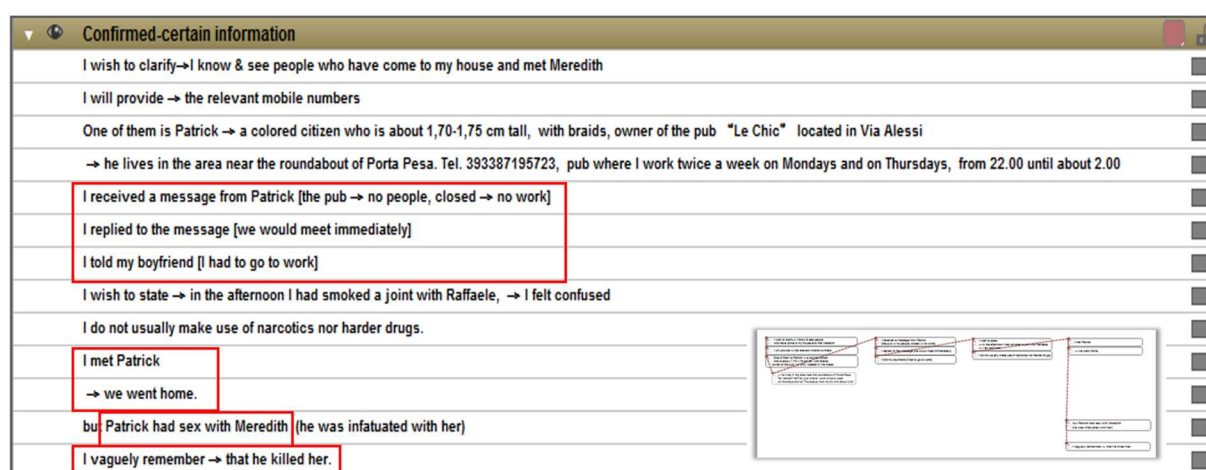


Figure 5. Confirmed-certain information in S1

As highlighted in Figure 5, in the confirmed-certain information in S1, Knox places herself at the crime scene and implicates (Patrick) Lumumba as the one who *had sex with Meredith* and who *killed her* (sentences 8-9). However, much crucial detail with regard to the motive for the crime is missing or remains unconfirmed. For example, the reason for arranging a meeting with Lumumba and going home together with him (i.e. to the crime scene on the night of the murder) is not mentioned anywhere in the statement. This is a crucial question which is consequently the main focus of the police interrogation, and yet the answers remain obscure in this statement. With regard to what actually happened on the night of the murder, Knox shows strong epistemic uncertainty, as shown in the group of uncertain information in Figure 6.

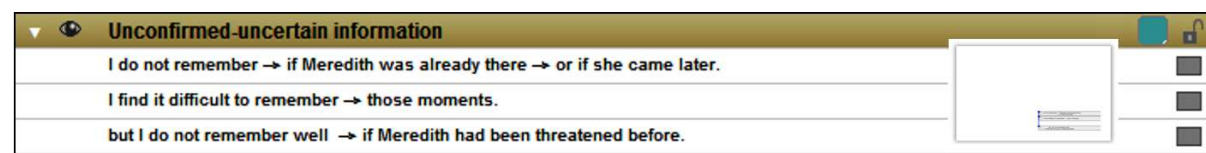


Figure 6. Unconfirmed-uncertain information in S1

Following the same diagramming and marking style, we found that the overall text-world structure in S2 shows a very similar pattern to S1, where Knox is making the same strong claim that she was at the crime scene with Lumumba, “the murderer”. From the confirmed-certain

information group in S2, it is observed that Knox also provides similar affirmative information that is self-incriminating. She confirms that she met Lumumba on the night of the murder, and that they went home together (S2 – sentences 3-4: *We met; We went to my apartment in Via della Pergola n. 7*). Nonetheless, the accusation that Lumumba was involved in the sexual abuse and murder is more forceful in S2, as implicated in the assertions that he *went into Meredith's room*, she heard her *screaming* and *some thuds*, and she *imagined what could have happened* (sentences 5, 6, 8).

It is worth pointing out that the crucial details are again missing from the police interrogation (or from the statement): the motivation for meeting Lumumba and going to the crime scene on the night of the murder, whether the crime was plotted in advance, whether Kercher was forced by violence, etc. Similar to what is said in S1 (*I find it difficult to remember those moments*), with regard to the crucial details of the crime, i.e. the happenings after they went home, Knox appears to be greatly confused (*I do not remember anything*), as shown in the negative propositions listed in Figure 7.

Unconfirmed-uncertain information	
I do not clearly remember → if Meredith was already at home → or if she came later	
I cannot remember → how long they stayed together in the room	
Then I do not remember anything → I am very confused.	
I do not remember → if Meredith was screaming	
I am not sure → if Raffaele was there as well that night	

Figure 7. Unconfirmed-uncertain information in S2

Thus, the common pattern we observe from the groups of epistemic certainty and uncertainty information in S1 and S2, marked via VUE's *Pathways* feature, is that Knox confirms her involvement in the crime and implicates Patrick Lumumba as the murderer. Yet neither statement provides any crucial information relating to the motivation and crime details.

We now turn to the third handwritten statement Knox made to the police. As mentioned in [Section 3.1](#), the discourse structures and text production processes of S1 and S2 are substantially different from those of S3. S3 was generated by Knox herself when she was alone in the detention room; it was handwritten in her native language, with no dictation/translation parameters involved. These factors contribute to a rather different cognitive pattern reflected in S3. Following the same diagramming and marking style, Figure 8 presents the text-worlds diagram of the third statement.



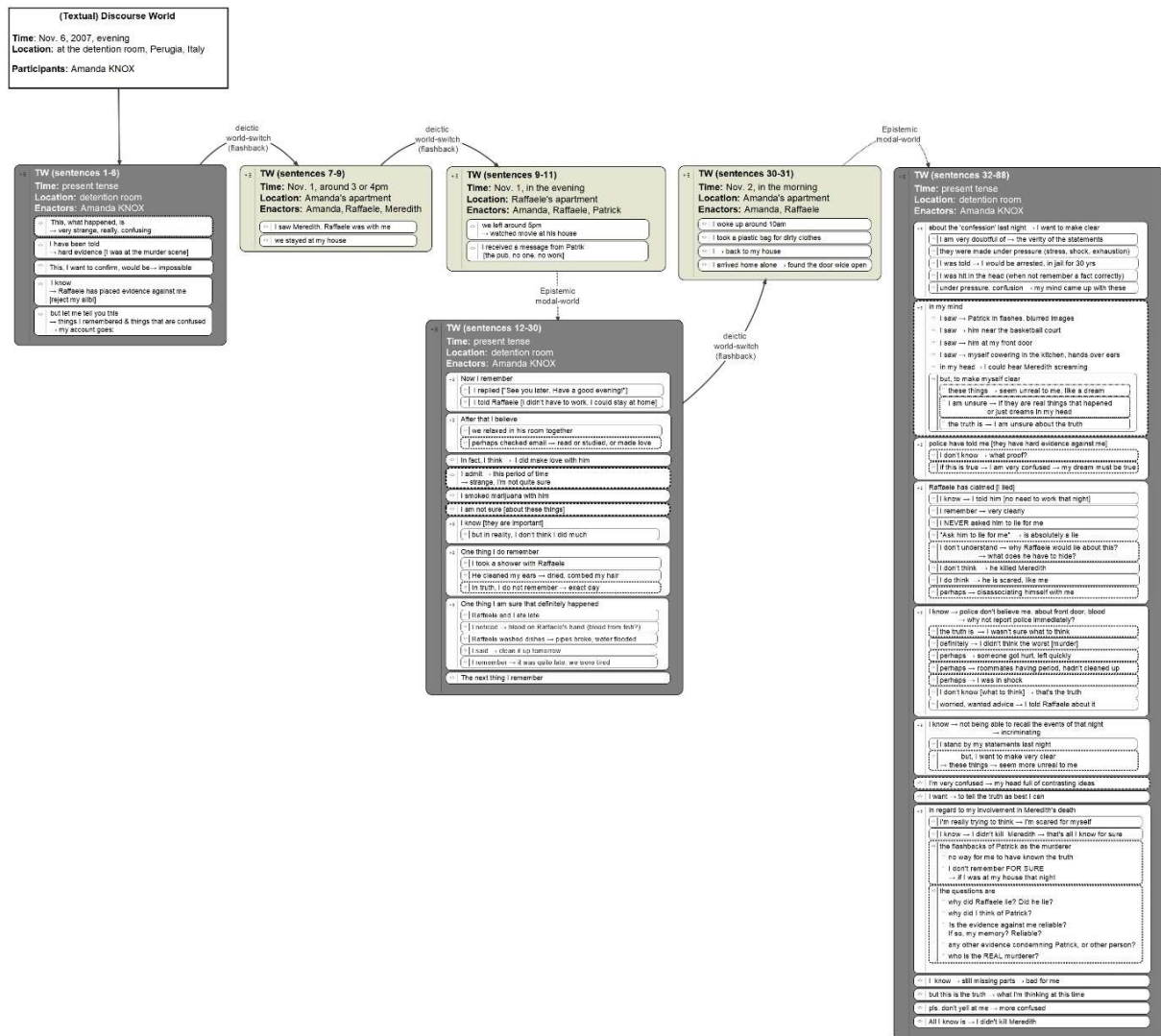


Figure 8. Statement 3 text-worlds diagram

In Figure 8, we see a higher proportion of text shaded in dark grey (i.e. modal-world projections), as compared with S1 and S2 (see Figure 2). That is, the epistemic modalized propositions are more prominent in S3, indicating Knox’s varying degrees of knowledge, belief, and doubt with regard to the murder, Lumumba’s involvement, her alibi, as well as the police interrogation. We then examine in particular the marked uncertain information group in S3, as shown in Figure 9 with emphasis highlighted for comparison with the first two statements.

▼ Uncertain information	
This, what happened, is → very strange, really, confusing	
perhaps checked email → read or studied, or made love	
I admit → this period of time → strange, I'm not quite sure	
I am not sure [about these things]	
In truth, I do not remember → exact day	
in my mind	
I saw → Patrick in flashes, blurred images	
I saw → him near the basketball court	
I saw → him at my front door	
I saw → myself cowering in the kitchen, hands over ears	
in my head → I could hear Meredith screaming	
these things → seem unreal to me, like a dream	
I am unsure → if they are real things that hapened or just dreams in my head	
I don't know → what proof?	
if this is true → I am very confused → my dream must be true	
I don't understand → <u>why Raffaele would lie about this?</u> → <u>what does he have to hide?</u>	
perhaps → disassociating himself with me	
the truth is → I wasn't sure what to think	
perhaps → someone got hurt, left quickly	
perhaps → roommates having period, hadn't cleaned up	
perhaps → I was in shock	
but, I want to make very clear → these things → seem more unreal to me	
I'm very confused → my head full of contrasting ideas	
no way for me to have known the truth	
I don't remember FOR SURE → if I was at my house that night	
<u>why did Raffaele lie? Did he lie?</u>	
<u>why did I think of Patrick?</u>	
<u>Is the evidence against me reliable? If so, my memory? Reliable?</u>	
<u>any other evidence condemning Patrick, or other person?</u>	
<u>who is the REAL murderer?</u>	

Figure 9. Unconfirmed-uncertain information in S3

In this statement, Knox does not make the same strongly incriminating claim as she did in S1 and S2, saying that she was at the crime scene that night. Neither does she deny what was said in her previous statements. It should be noted, however, that her original affirmative declarations in S1 and S2 with regard to the actual events, i.e. her meeting Lumumba, staying in the kitchen and hearing Kercher screaming, all become embedded in her mental world in S3: *in my mind, in my head, seem unreal to me, like a dream* (see the texts encircled in Figure 9). In effect, the events she reported affirmatively in S1 and S2 have all been shifted to modal-worlds (i.e. her internal projections) in S3. As stated in Section 2, in TWT terms, modal-worlds stipulate possible situations which are inaccessible to discourse participants and cannot (as yet) be confirmed. Abiding by the principle of inaccessibility to the domain of modal-worlds, discourse participants (e.g. legal practitioners) do not have sufficient information to assess the truth value of these modalized propositions (*I saw Patrick; I saw myself cowering in the kitchen; I could hear Meredith screaming...*), and such propositions thus remain unverifiable as evidence to a court of law. (Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that these propositions in S3 are often

interpreted as evidence that Knox confirmed her earlier allegations against Patrick Lumumba, see Annunziato 2011: 65 for example).

What is contained in S3 is a high proportion of propositions indicating strong uncertainty on the part of Knox (e.g. *strange, confusing, perhaps, I am not quite sure, I am not sure, unreal, like a dream, I'm very confused, I don't understand, I don't remember FOR SURE if I was at my house that night*). In contrast to the declarative assertions in S1 and S2, the third statement presents more interrogatives from Knox herself, as shown in the underlined texts in Figure 9 (e.g. *What proof? Why did Raffaele lie (about her alibi)? Did he lie? Why did I think of Patrick? Who is the REAL murderer?*). This series of self-reflective questions projects a psychological state of great confusion.

### 3.4 Process types and discourse function

All texts, produced in all discourse-worlds, can be seen to have a function or certain communicative purpose in their discourse-world environments (Gavins 2007). Analyzing function-advancing propositions in texts can foster a better understanding of the communicative purpose of the discourse in question. Our study of function-advancing propositions in the three statements shows that more prominent material processes (intentional actions or events) appear in S1 and S2 than in S3. In S1, for example, the sequence of past events (material process types) reported in Knox's statement can be plotted as in Figure 10.

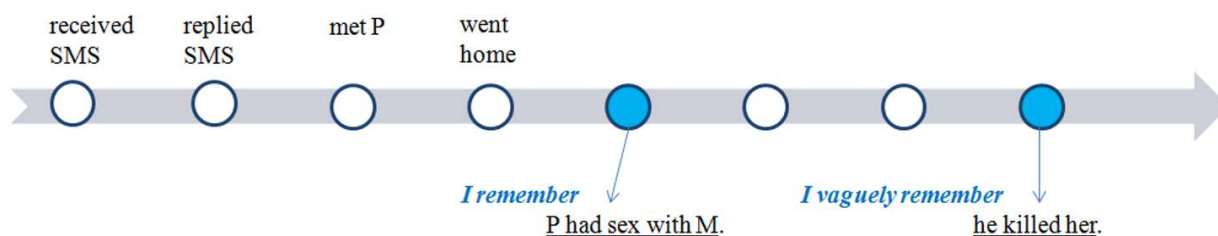


Figure 10. Material process types in S1

It is easy to observe from the material verbal groups that Knox is often projected as an *actor*, responsible for the actions described (e.g. *I replied to the message, I met Patrick, we went home*). Two key material processes (*Patrick had sex with Meredith* and *he killed her*), in which Patrick [Lumumba] is the *actor* and Meredith [Kercher] is the *goal* affected by this material process, are embedded in a modal-world projected by Knox, as indicated by the cognitive verb *remember*, which is neither inherently factive nor non-factive. As a result, the truthfulness of these two reported events becomes dubious and is open to question (cf. the principle of information inaccessibility in TWT terms).

Similarly, in S2, the pivotal material processes that impact on the assessment of the crime, e.g. *Patrick and Meredith went into Meredith's room and they stayed together in the room*, are also embedded in a modal-world projected by Knox, and as such, cannot be verified as true unless further evidence is acquired. Overall, the communicative objectives shown in these two



statements seem more attuned to Knox being eager to confirm Lumumba's involvement in the crime and to incriminate herself.

By contrast, in S3, as reflected in the text-worlds diagram in Figure 8, we see that mental processes (perception, cognition, emotions) are more prominent than material process (actions, events), when compared to S1 and S2. Knox is presented as a *senser*, the one who feels (emotionally), thinks, and perceives, rather than an *actor*. In S3, the phenomenon that she felt, thought about, or perceived, i.e. the complement clauses attached to the mental processes (e.g. *think, remember*), are mainly related to her uncertainty and confusion with regard to (i) the confession she made in the previous two statements, (ii) the police's claim that they have evidence against her, and (iii) her boyfriend's contradicting statement about her alibi. S3 projects more prominent epistemic modal-worlds which impact on how Knox is characterized; here she is presented as confused and struggling to figure out what happened on the night of the murder as well as on the night of the police interview.

#### 4. A linguistic comparison of the dictated/written statements

The analysis of the three statements from a Text World Theory perspective shows substantial differences between the two sets of statements (S1, S2 vs. S3) with regard to the text-worlds projected. The contested statements, all given by Knox, raise the question of how these differences are manifested linguistically. In this section, we are concerned particularly with the language choice and stylistic differences between S1, S2, and S3. We focus on identifying any inconsistencies and contradictions in terms of the actions/events/states reported in these statements, and considering possible reasons for and implications of these linguistic differences. There are three stylistic differences in particular that in our view are significant, concerning: (1) the level of detail in the statements, (2) the practices relating to reference and naming, and (3) the differences in the formation of salutations.

##### (1) Level of information

To begin with the issue of differing levels of information, here are the extracts where Patrick Lumumba's name was mentioned for the first time in each statement.

S1 (sentence 2):

One of these people is Patrick, a colored citizen who is about 1,70-1,75 cm tall, with braids, owner of the pub "Le Chic" located in Via Alessi and I know that he lives in the area near the roundabout of Porta Pesa. Tel. 393387195723, pub where I work twice a week on Mondays and on Thursdays, from 22.00 until about 2.00.

S2 (sentence 1):

I am really afraid of Patrick, the African boy who owns the pub called "Le Chic" located in Via Alessi where I work periodically.

S3 (sentence 10):

After the movie I received a message from Patrik [sic], for whom I work at the pub “Le Chic”.

The appositional phrases in the above extracts are used to explain or identify who Lumumba is. In S1, Lumumba’s skin color, his height, his hair style, the location of his pub, where he lives, his telephone number, and Knox’s working hours in the pub are reported in much greater detail than in S3 (*for whom I work at the pub “Le Chic”*). Given that Knox had at that time been interrogated for hours and was likely to have been in a state of considerable stress, it seems unlikely that she would have been able to present so much detail in such a structured manner. It is likely, then, that the statement was not a verbatim transcription but was partially constructed by the interviewing officer.

We can observe a similar level of detail in S2 (sentence 4): *We went to my apartment in Via della Pergola n.7*. The prepositional phrase indicates the address of Knox’s apartment, though the inclusion of the number of the apartment renders the phrase ungrammatical. Again, it seems unlikely that this information is a verbatim transcription of Knox’s words, and the function of the prepositional phrase seems to be to serve as a reminder of her stated presence at the crime scene on the night of the murder.

S1 and S2 include details that seem not only too precise for a witness being questioned for hours (presumably feeling tired or under pressure), but which are also not redolent of American English. For example, the fact that Patrick’s height is given in metric measurements and Knox’s working hours are given using the 24-hour clock are highly suggestive of Italian influence in the encoding of these details. Another linguistic pattern redolent of Italian is the use of the preposition *of* in the genitive construction *roundabout of Porta Pesa*, which might more naturally be expressed as *Porta Pesa roundabout* by a native English-speaker. These style markers may indicate that Knox was not the originator of these details, or alternatively that the translator has attempted to render statements attributed to Knox into an Italian formulation. It is important to note, however, that without knowing who translated the texts, we can neither confirm nor reject these possibilities.

## (2) Deviant reference

The extract below presents the first time Knox refers to her boyfriend Raffaele Sollecito in the second statement, with the relevant reference underlined:

S2 (sentences 11-12):

I am not sure if Raffaele was there as well that night but I clearly remember that I woke up at my boyfriend’s home, in his bed and that I came back home in the morning when I found the door of the apartment open. When I woke up in the morning of November 2nd I was in

bed with my boyfriend.

In S2, Knox's reference to Raffaele may be interpreted as deviation from the conventions of Standard English. She initially refers to Raffaele with his first name, and then twice uses the noun phrase *my boyfriend* anaphorically. This is unusual, given the more normal practice of using pronouns in anaphoric reference. Moreover, the normal convention would be to indicate the nature of the relationship with Raffaele in the first reference to him, in order to avoid the necessity of a longer impersonal noun phrase later on; as it stands, the stylistic choice gives rise to a potential interpretative ambiguity wherein *my boyfriend* might conceivably refer to someone other than Raffaele. Since we know this not to be the case, this again is suggestive of S2 not being a verbatim transcription of Knox's statement, but one that is partially constructed by the interviewing officer. By contrast, in Knox's handwritten statement (S3), she refers to Raffaele with his first name 17 times, and only once does she refer to him as *my boyfriend*.

### (3) Salutations in Knox's text message to Lumumba

The police interrogation on 6 November focused on a text message exchanged between Knox and her boss Patrick Lumumba. Knox at first told the police that she had not responded to Patrick's message, but her phone record showed that she had. Part of the text message, written in Italian as *Ci vediamo* ('See you'), functions as a conventional sign-off but might also be interpreted as a commitment on the part of Knox to meet Lumumba later (i.e. on the night of the murder). The police thus persistently inquired about this particular information. At this point Knox was also informed that her boyfriend was no longer corroborating her alibi. This information caused Knox to become emotionally agitated, as indicated in several witness statements (see *The Murder Of Meredith Kercher Wiki Site*), and she began to accuse Lumumba of murder. The translated SMS texts shown in the three statements are listed below. The first is represented in indirect writing, while the second two are presented in direct quotes:

S1 (sentence 4):

I replied to the message saying that we would meet immediately...

S2 (sentence 2):

I met him in the evening of November 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, after sending him a reply message saying "I will see you".

S3 (sentence 12):

Now I remember to have also replied with the message: "See you later. Have a good evening!"

The changes in linguistic formulation precipitate dramatic shifts in meaning and interpretative significance. The text messages reported in S1 and S2 are self-incriminating in that Knox

commits herself to meeting Lumumba whereas in S3 she shows no intention of meeting him, as indicated by the phrase ‘Have a good evening!’. Since faithfulness is a key issue with regard to the content of Knox’s text message to Lumumba, we examined the testimonies of Lumumba and Rita Ficarra, the Chief Inspector who questioned Knox that night, to see how the text message is recorded by them. In these, the message is recorded as having been “*Certo. Ci vediamo più tardi. Buona serata*” (‘Sure. See you later. Have a good evening’).

Clearly, S3 gives the most faithful account of the message (*Ci vediamo, buona serata*), as compared to the formulations in S1 and S2. This finding raises a number of issues. First, it is important to note that when Knox was first asked about the text message, she was being interviewed only as a witness, not as a suspect. Furthermore, the police had shown her the original text message she sent to Patrick Lumumba. We may wonder why Knox would implicate herself in the crime by reporting self-incriminating SMS messages in her first two statements. One possibility, then, is that the difference in English formulations is a result of different translations of the same text message in Italian.

To clarify these issues, we examined the official court documents signed by all of the discourse participants. This clearly shows that S1 and S2 report different text message content in Italian, as highlighted in Figure 11 (see also Appendix).

The figure displays two official Italian court documents from the Questura di Perugia, Squadra Mobile. Document S1 (left) contains the text "ci saremmo visti subito" (we would meet immediately), which is highlighted with a red box and a red arrow. Document S2 (right) contains the text "ci vediamo" (we see each other), also highlighted with a red box and a red arrow. Both documents are signed by Amanda Knox and Rita Ficarra.

Figure 11. SMS texts in S1 and S2

In S1, it is written as *ci saremmo visti subito*, an indirect report of the text message content which literally means ‘we would meet immediately’. In S2, however, it is recorded as “*ci*

*vediamo*”, a direct quote (‘see you’) with the temporal adverb *più tardi* (‘later’) and the key phrase *buona serata* (‘Have a good evening!’) noticeably absent. There is, then, no reference to a later encounter than that evening.

At this point, it is perhaps useful to quote an extract from the testimony of Inspector Rita Ficarra,<sup>5</sup> one of the discourse participants that night (see Figure 2). In her testimony, Ficarra states that they (i.e. all of the discourse participants) have the mobile phone with the questioned message in front of them and they saw it together (emphasis added):

Rita Ficarra: ...we found a message sent around 2000-2030 hours it seems to me, around that time but at any rate it is in the files because *we also photographed the mobile phone with the message* where the name of Patrick appeared, and there was this message that said... Can I report it?

Judge Massei: Yes, did you see it?

Rita Ficarra: *Yes, certainly I saw it. We saw it together.* It said “Certainly”...  
[...]

Rita Ficarra: *Yes. “Certainly. See you later. Have a good evening”. [Certo. Ci vediamo più tardi. Buona serata].* It was the only message of that evening, and we asked who this Patrick was, and this seemed to us an appointment, see you later, certainly, in response to another message...

In a legal setting the interrogator and interpreter/translator are bound by a code of ethics to provide a complete, accurate, and faithful report or translation/interpretation, without altering, adding or omitting anything to what was originally stated (Framer 2005). As shown in Figure 11, all of the discourse participants signed the two statements given by Knox. However, the SMS content reported in both official documents is not exactly the same wording as in Knox’s original text message. The English formulations in S1 and S2 have been proved not as a result of different renditions of the same original message in Italian; instead, it would appear that some element of textual alteration has been effected during the interview/translation process.

Perhaps also of significance here is a difference in the subject lines of the official statements from “Transcript of *summary information* [*sommario informazioni*] by person informed of facts” in S1 to “Transcript of *spontaneous statement* [*spontanea dichiarazione*]” made by Knox in S2 (see Figure 11 or the Appendix). The rewording in the title of the transcript may be in the interests of precision. Such a linguistic reformulation, however, leads to different legal significance, as the latter emphasizes more forcefully that the self-incriminating statement

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<sup>5</sup> Inspector Rita Ficarra’s testimony was given in Italian and its English translation done by ZiaK/Katsgalore was obtained from *The Murder Of Meredith Kercher Wiki Site*:  
[http://themurderofmeredithkercher.com/Rita\\_Ficarra%27s\\_Testimony\\_\(English\)#Rita\\_Ficarra.27s\\_Testimony1/25](http://themurderofmeredithkercher.com/Rita_Ficarra%27s_Testimony_(English)#Rita_Ficarra.27s_Testimony1/25) (last accessed on 03/11/2017).

was made of Knox's free will and in her own words. Again, considering the fact that S1 and S2 are almost identical in terms of content, such a linguistic change seemingly points to reinforcement (whether intentionally or not) of the legitimacy of the statements and Knox's involvement in the crime.

The dispute about S1 and S2 lies in (a) Knox claiming that she had been subjected to a hostile interrogation over long hours at the police station and had not been treated fairly, which thus caused her to make incriminating statements, and (b) the fact that the interrogation was conducted without an attorney present and was not recorded. Knox later recanted the statements and the Court also ruled S1 and S2 inadmissible evidence in the criminal trial. However, it may be argued that the first two statements are inadmissible as evidence not only because of the illegal procedure of evidence collection, but also because the statements were highly likely to have been altered, as shown in the analysis above. The linguistic differences with regard to the level of information detail and the reference to Knox's boyfriend Raffaele may result from the fundamental differences in discourse structure between the statements and/or the translation parameters involved. However, the reformulation in the report of the content of the text message discussed above seems to be far more controversial, given that despite the exact text message content being presented to all discourse participants, it was not faithfully recorded in the official documents.

## **5. Conclusion and future work**

This article uses Text World Theory in conjunction with VUE concept mapping software to analyze the cognitive patterns (i.e. text-worlds) as reflected in the three controversial statements made by Amanda Knox. We use the insights gained to guide an examination of their individual linguistic features and associated potential legal implications. Our linguistic comparison indicates signs of textual alteration in the first two statements (S1 and S2), which effected a change of meaning and legal significance.

We also aim to have demonstrated via this case study that the cognitive model outlined in Text World Theory may be usefully applied to the analysis of legal statements. We do not claim that the insights gained from our analysis could not be generated by other methods, but we do argue that Text World Theory offers a particularly valuable means of dealing with the complexity of language on multiple layers of discourse in a fairly systematic way. Text-world diagrams (i.e. complex language data visualization) enable the observation of the overall conceptual patterns in the data and potentially increase the ease with which pertinent insights may be gained. As illustrated in our case study, a text-world analysis helps to identify the cognitive structures and discourse functions underlying a witness/suspect's statements, and the detailed examination of linguistic features and style markers in these texts then helps in assessing the veracity of such statements.

In addition, we have shown how the concept mapping tool, VUE, may be usefully

employed in diagramming text-world structures of witness/suspect statements to support legal discourse analysis. VUE increases TWT's capacity for managing long stretches of texts and analytically complex datasets (as opposed to the short text extracts that are the typical preserve of non-computer-assisted manual analysis). VUE, of course, offers just one means of visualizing complex language data. The integration of alternative methods of visualization may also be valuable. We thus suggest that there is a value in further research to explore text-worlds diagramming techniques and to improve the falsifiability of Text World Theory in legal discourse analysis. We aim to report further on our ongoing work in this area shortly.

**Appendix: Amanda Knox's three statements to police on 6 November 2007**

- Statement 1: Italian original and English transcript



**QUESTURA DI PERUGIA  
SQUADRA MOBILE**

**Oggetto:** Verbale di sommarie informazioni di persona informata sui fatti rese da:  
**KNOX Amanda Marie**, nata a Washington (U.S.A.) il 09.07.87, domiciliata a Perugia in via della Pergola n.7; identificata a mezzo Pass. N.422687114 rilasciato dal Governo U.S.A il 13.06.2007, tel. 3484673590.-

Il giorno 6 novembre 2007, alle ore 01.45, in Perugia presso gli Uffici della Squadra Mobile della Questura di Perugia. Innanzi ai sottoscritti Ufficiali di Polizia Giudiziaria Isp.C., **FICARRA Rita**, Ass.ti C. **ZUGARINI Lorena** e **RAFFO Ivano**, in servizio rispettivamente presso l'ufficio in epigrafe indicato e è presente la persona nominata in oggetto che comprende e parla sufficientemente la lingua italiana, coadiuvati dall'interprete di lingua inglese **Anna Donnino**, la quale in merito al decesso di **KERCHER Meredith Susanna Cara**, e facendo seguito alle dichiarazioni rese precedentemente, dichiara quanto segue:-----

“ Ad integrazione di quanto già riferito con le precedenti dichiarazioni rese presso questi Uffici, voglio precisare che conosco altre persone che frequento e che hanno frequentato anche occasionalmente la mia abitazione e che hanno conosciuto anche Meredith e dei quali fornisco le relative utenze cellulari-----

Una di queste persone è **Patrik**, un cittadino di colore alto circa 1,70-1,75, con le treccine proprietario del locale pub “Le Chic” sito in questa via Alessi, che so abitare nella zona vicino alla rotonda di Porta Pesa. Tel.393387195723, locale in cui io lavoro due volte la settimana nei giorni di lunedì e giovedì, dalle ore 22.00 alle ore 02.00 circa.-----

Giovedì 1 novembre scorso giorno in cui normalmente lavoro, mentre mi trovavo a casa del mio ragazzo Raffaele, alle ore 20.30 circa ho ricevuto un messaggio sul mio cellulare da parte di Patrik, il quale mi diceva che quella sera il locale sarebbe rimasto chiuso perché non c'era gente e pertanto non sarei dovuta andare a lavorare.-----

Ho risposto al messaggio dicendogli che ci saremmo visti subito, quindi uscivo di casa dicendo al mio ragazzo che dovevo andare a lavorare. Premesso che durante il pomeriggio con Raffaele avevamo fumato uno spinello e quindi mi sentivo confusa poiché non faccio uso di frequente di sostanze stupefacenti né di sostanze più pesanti.-----

Ho incontrato Patrik subito dopo presso il campo di basket di P.zza Grimana e con lui siamo andati a casa. Non ricordo se Meredith era lì o è arrivata dopo. Faccio fatica a ricordare quei momenti ma Patrik ha fatto sesso con Meredith di cui era invaghito ma non ricordo bene se Meredith fosse stata prima minacciata. Ricordo confusamente che l'ha uccisa lui”.-----

L'Ufficio dà atto che si interrompe il verbale e la KNOX Amanda viene messa a disposizione dell'Autorità Giudiziaria procedente.-----

F.L.C.S. -----

Il/La dichiarante

*Amanda Knox*



I Verbalizzanti

*Stefano b.p.c.*  
*22.11.07*  
*Luca Zini*



**TRANSLATION**  
**QUESTURA DI PERUGIA**  
**SQUADRA MOBILE**

Re: Minutes of the information conveyed by:

**KNOX Amanda Marie**, born in Washington (U.S.A.) on July 9<sup>th</sup> 1987, domiciled in Perugia, Via della Pergola n. 7; identified by means of Passport n. 422687114 issued by the Government of the U.S.A. on June 13<sup>th</sup> 2007, tel. 3484673590

On November 6<sup>th</sup> 2007, at 01.45, in Perugia at the Offices of the *Squadra Mobile* of the *Questura* of Perugia. Before the undersigned officers of the Judicial Authority Chief Inspector, **FICARRA Rita**, assisted by **ZUGARINI Lorena** and **RAFFO Ivano**, respectively on duty at the office above mentioned in the epigraph and in presence of the person mentioned in the re who sufficiently understands and speaks Italian, assisted by the English-speaking interpreter **Anna Donnino**, who, in relation to the death of **KERCHER Meredith Susanna Cara** and after the precedent declarations, declares the following:

-----

<sup>1</sup> In order to complete what has been retailed before by means of precedent declarations made at this Office, I wish to clarify that I know and see other people who have also come to my houses sometimes and who have also met Meredith and of whom I will provide the relevant mobile numbers.

<sup>2</sup> One of these people is **Patrik**, a colored citizen who is about 1,70-1,75 cm tall, with braids, owner of the pub "Le Chic" located in Via Alessi and I know that he lives in the area near the roundabout of Porta Pesa. Tel. 393387195723, pub where I work twice a week on Mondays and on Thursdays, from 22.00 until about 2.00.

<sup>3</sup> Last Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> November, day on which I usually work, while I was in the apartment of my boyfriend Raffaele, at about 20.30 I received a message from Patrick on my mobile, telling me that that evening the pub would remain closed because there were no people, therefore I didn't have to go to work.

<sup>4</sup> I replied to the message saying that we would meet immediately, therefore I went out telling my boyfriend that I had to go to work. <sup>5</sup> I wish to state first that in the afternoon I had smoked a joint with Raffaele, therefore I felt confused because I do not usually make use of narcotics nor harder drugs.

<sup>6</sup> I met Patrick soon after at the basketball court of piazza Grimana and we went home. <sup>7</sup> I do not remember if Meredith was already there or if she came later. <sup>8</sup> I find it difficult to remember those moments but Patrick had sex with Meredith with whom he was infatuated but I do not remember well if Meredith had been threatened before. <sup>9</sup> I vaguely remember that he killed her.

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The Office acknowledges that the statements stop here and KNOX Amanda is put at the disposal of the proceeding Judicial Authority.

F.L.C.S.

The Declaring  
Signed

The recording people  
Signed

- Statement 2: Italian original and English transcript



**QUESTURA DI PERUGIA**  
**SQUADRA MOBILE**

**Oggetto:** Verbale di spontanee dichiarazioni rese da :  
**KNOX Amanda Marie**, nata a Washington (U.S.A.) il 09.07.87, domiciliata a Perugia in via della Pergola n.7; identificata a mezzo Pass. N.422687114 rilasciato dal Governo U.S.A il 13.06.2007. tel. 3484673590.-

Il giorno 6 novembre 2007, alle ore 05.45, in Perugia presso gli Uffici della Squadra Mobile della Questura. Innanzi al Sottoscritto Dott. MIGNINI Giuliano Sost.Proc. presso la Procura della Repubblica presso il Tribunale di Perugia, ed Ufficiali di Polizia Giudiziaria Isp.C., **FICARRA Rita**, in servizio rispettivamente presso l'ufficio in epigrafe indicato è presente la persona nominata in oggetto che pur comprendendo e parlando sufficientemente la lingua italiana, viene assistita dall'interprete di lingua inglese **Anna Donnino**, ed quale in merito al decesso di **KERCHER Meredith Susanna Cara**, dichiara quanto segue:-----

Voglio riferire spontaneamente quello che è successo perché questa vicenda mi ha turbata profondamente ed ho molto paura di Patrik, il ragazzo africano proprietario del pub denominato "Le Chic" di questa via Alessi ove io lavoravo saltuariamente. L'ho incontrato la sera del giorno primo novembre c.a., dopo avergli mandato un messaggio di risposta al suo, con le parole "ci vediamo". Ci siamo incontrati subito dopo intorno alle ore 21.00 circa presso il campetto di basket di P.zza Grimana. Siamo andati a casa mia in via della Pergola n. 7. Non ricordo precisamente se la mia amica Meredith fosse già in casa o se è giunta dopo, quello che posso dire è che Patrik e Meredith si sono appartati nella camera di Meredith, mentre io mi pare che sono rimasta nella cucina. Non riesco a ricordare quanto tempo siano rimasti insieme nella camera ma posso solo dire che ad un certo punto ho sentito delle grida di Meredith ed io spaventata mi sono tappata le orecchie. Poi non ricordo più nulla, ho un grande confusione nella testa. Non ricordo se Meredith gridava e se sentì anche dei tonfi perché ero sconvolta, ma immaginavo cosa potesse essere successo.-----

Ho incontrato Patrik questa mattina, davanti all'Università Per Stranieri e lo stesso mi ha fatto alcune domande, per la precisione voleva sapere che domande mi erano state fatte dalla Polizia. Penso che mi abbia anche chiesto se volevo incontrare dei giornalisti forse al fine di capire se sapevo qualcosa sulla morte di Meredith. Non sicura se fosse presente anche Raffaele quella sera ma ricordo bene di essermi svegliata a casa del mio ragazzo, nel suo letto e che sono tornata al mattino nella mia abitazione dove ho trovato la porta dell'appartamento aperta. Quando mi ero svegliata, la mattina del giorno 2 novembre ero a letto con il mio fidanzato.-----

Si dà atto che la KNOX si porta ripetutamente le mani alla testa e la scuote.-----  
Letto confermato e sottoscritto in data ora e luogo di cui sopra.-----

Il/La dichiarante

*Amanda Knox*

I Verbalizzanti

*[Signature]*  
*Rita Ficarra Isp.C.*

**TRANSLATION**  
**QUESTURA DI PERUGIA**  
**SQUADRA MOBILE**

Re: Minutes of the information conveyed by:

**KNOX Amanda Marie**, born in Washington (U.S.A.) on July 9<sup>th</sup> 1987, domiciled in Perugia, Via della Pergola n. 7; identified by means of Passport n. 422687114 issued by the Government of the U.S.A. on June 13<sup>th</sup> 2007, tel. 3484673590.-

On November 6<sup>th</sup> 2007, at 05.45, in Perugia at the Offices of the *Squadra Mobile* of the *Questura*. Before the Undersigned **Dr. MIGNINI Giuliano** Deputy Prosecutor of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Republic at the Court of Perugia and before the Judicial Police Officers Chief Inspector, **FICARRA Rita**, respectively on duty at the office above mentioned in the epigraph and in presence of the person mentioned in the re who although sufficiently understands and speaks Italian is assisted by the English-speaking interpreter **Anna Donnino** and who in relation to the death of **KERCHER Meredith Susanna Cara** and after the precedent declarations, declares the following:

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1 I wish to relate spontaneously what happened because these events have deeply bothered me and I am really afraid of Patrick, the African boy who owns the pub called "Le Chic" located in Via Alessi where I work periodically. 2 I met him in the evening of November 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, after sending him a reply message saying "I will see you". 3 We met soon after at about 21.00 at the basketball court of Piazza Grimana. 4 We went to my apartment in Via della Pergola n. 7. 5 I do not clearly remember if Meredith was already at home or if she came later, what I can say is that Patrick and Meredith went into Meredith's room, while I think I stayed in the kitchen. 6 I cannot remember how long they stayed together in the room but I can only say that at a certain point I heard Meredith screaming and as I was scared I plugged up my hears. 7 Then I do not remember anything, I am very confused. 8 I do not remember if Meredith was screaming and I heard some thuds too because I was upset, but I imagined what could have happened.

9 I have met Patrick this morning, in front of the *Universita Per Stranieri* and he has asked me some questions, to be more accurate he wanted to know what the Policemen had asked me. 10 I think he has also asked me if I wanted to see some journalists, maybe in order to know if I knew anything about Meredith's death. 11 I am not sure if Raffaele was there as well that night but I clearly remember that I woke up at my boyfriend's home, in his bed and that I came back home in the morning when I found the door of the apartment open. 12 When I woke up in the morning of November 2<sup>nd</sup> I was in bed with my boyfriend.

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It is acknowledge that Knox repeatedly brings her hands on her head and shakes it.

Read confirmed and undersigned at the time and in the place mentioned above.

The Declarant  
Signed

The recording people  
Signed



- Statement 3

### Transcript of Amanda Knox's Handwritten Statement to Police on the Evening of November 6:

(Moore, Malcolm, Transcript of Amanda Knox's note, *The Telegraph* 22 Nov 2007. All errors are in the original.)

<sup>1</sup> This is very strange, I know, but really what happened is as confusing to me as it is to everyone else. <sup>2</sup> I have been told there is hard evidence saying that I was at the place of the murder of my friend when it happened. <sup>3</sup> This, I want to confirm, is something that to me, if asked a few days ago, would be impossible. <sup>4</sup> I know that Raffaele has placed evidence against me, saying that I was not with him on the night of Meredith's murder, but let me tell you this. <sup>5</sup> In my mind there are things I remember and things that are confused. <sup>6</sup> My account of this story goes as follows, despite the evidence stacked against me:

<sup>7</sup> On Thursday November 1 I saw Meredith the last time at my house when she left around 3 or 4 in the afternoon. <sup>8</sup> Raffaele was with me at the time. <sup>9</sup> We, Raffaele and I, stayed at my house for a little while longer and around 5 in the evening we left to watch the movie *Amelie* at his house. <sup>10</sup> After the movie I received a message from Patrik [sic], for whom I work at the pub "Le Chic". <sup>11</sup> He told me in this message that it wasn't necessary for me to come into work for the evening because there was no one at my work.

<sup>12</sup> Now I remember to have also replied with the message: "See you later. Have a good evening!" and this for me does not mean that I wanted to meet him immediately. <sup>13</sup> In particular because I said: "Good evening!" <sup>14</sup> What happened after I know does not match up with what Raffaele was saying, but this is what I remember. <sup>15</sup> I told Raffaele that I didn't have to work and that I could remain at home for the evening. <sup>16</sup> After that I believe we relaxed in his room together, perhaps I checked my email. <sup>17</sup> Perhaps I read or studied or perhaps I made love to Raffaele. <sup>18</sup> In fact, I think I did make love with him.

<sup>19</sup> However, I admit that this period of time is rather strange because I am not quite sure. <sup>20</sup> I smoked marijuana with him and I might even have fallen asleep. <sup>21</sup> These things I am not sure about and I know they are important to the case and to help myself, but in reality, I don't think I did much. <sup>22</sup> One thing I do remember is that I took a shower with Raffaele and this might explain how we passed the time. <sup>23</sup> In truth, I do not remember exactly what day it was, but I do remember that we had a shower and we washed ourselves for a long time. <sup>24</sup> He cleaned my ears, he dried and combed my hair.

<sup>25</sup> One of the things I am sure that definitely happened the night on which Meredith was murdered was that Raffaele and I ate fairly late, I think around 11 in the evening, although I can't be sure because I didn't look at the clock. <sup>26</sup> After dinner I noticed there was blood on Raffaele's hand, but I was under the impression that it was blood from the fish. <sup>27</sup> After we ate Raffaele washed the dishes but the pipes under his sink broke and water flooded the floor. <sup>28</sup> But because he didn't have a mop I said we could clean it up tomorrow because we (Meredith, Laura, Filomena and I) have a mop at home. <sup>29</sup> I remember it was quite late because we were both very tired (though I can't say the time).

<sup>30</sup> The next thing I remember was waking up the morning of Friday November 2nd around 10am and I took a plastic bag to take back my dirty cloths to go back to my house. <sup>31</sup> It was then that I arrived home alone that I found the door to my house was wide open and this all began. <sup>32</sup> In regards to this "confession" that I made last night, I want to make clear that I'm very doubtful of the verity of my statements because they were made under the pressures of stress, shock and extreme exhaustion. <sup>33</sup> Not only was I told I would be arrested and put in jail for 30 years, but I was also hit in the head when I didn't remember a fact correctly. <sup>34</sup> I understand that the police are under a lot of stress, so I understand the treatment I received.

<sup>35</sup> However, it was under this pressure and after many hours of confusion that my mind came up with these answers. <sup>36</sup> In my mind I saw Patrik in flashes of blurred images. <sup>37</sup> I saw him near the basketball court. <sup>38</sup> I saw him at my front door. <sup>39</sup> I saw myself cowering in the kitchen with my hands over my ears because in my head I could hear Meredith screaming. <sup>40</sup> But I've said this many times so as to make myself clear: these things seem unreal to me, like a dream, and I am unsure if they are real things that happened or are just dreams my head has made to try to answer the questions in my head and the questions I am being asked. <sup>41</sup> But the truth is, I am unsure about the truth and here's why:

1. <sup>42</sup> The police have told me that they have hard evidence that places me at the house, my house, at the time of Meredith's murder. <sup>43</sup> I don't know what proof they are talking about, but if this is true, it means I am very confused and my dreams must be real.

2. <sup>44</sup> My boyfriend has claimed that I have said things that I know are not true. <sup>45</sup> I KNOW I told him I didn't have to work that night. <sup>46</sup> I remember that moment very clearly. <sup>47</sup> I also NEVER asked him to lie for me. <sup>48</sup> This is absolutely a lie. <sup>49</sup> What I don't understand is why Raffaele, who has always been so caring and gentle with me, would lie about this. <sup>50</sup> What does he have to hide? <sup>51</sup> I don't think he killed Meredith, but I do think he is scared, like me. <sup>52</sup> He walked into a situation that he has never had to be in, and perhaps he is trying to find a way out by disassociating himself with me.

<sup>53</sup> Honestly, I understand because this is a very scary situation. <sup>54</sup> I also know that the police don't believe things of me that I know I can explain, such as:

1. <sup>55</sup> I know the police are confused as to why it took me so long to call someone after I found the door to my house open and blood in the bathroom. <sup>56</sup> The truth is, I wasn't sure what to think, but I definitely didn't think the worst, that someone was murdered. <sup>57</sup> I thought a lot of things, mainly that perhaps someone got hurt and left quickly to take care of it. <sup>58</sup> I also thought that maybe one of my roommates was having menstrual [sic] problems and hadn't cleaned up. <sup>59</sup> Perhaps I was in shock, but at the time I didn't know what to think and that's the truth. <sup>60</sup> That is why I talked to Raffaele about it in the morning, because I was worried and wanted advice.

2. <sup>61</sup> I also know that the fact that I can't fully recall the events that I claim took place at Raffaele's home during the time that Meredith was murdered is incriminating. <sup>62</sup> And I stand by my statements that I made last night about events that could have taken place in my home with Patrik, but I want to make very clear that these events seem more unreal to me [than] what I said before, that I stayed at Raffaele's house.

3. <sup>63</sup> I'm very confused at this time. <sup>64</sup> My head is full of contrasting ideas and I know I can be frustrating to work with for this reason. <sup>65</sup> But I also want to tell the truth as best I can. <sup>66</sup> Everything I have said in regards to my involvement in Meredith's death, even though it is contrasting, are the best truth that I have been able to think.

[illegible section]

<sup>67</sup> I'm trying, I really am, because I'm scared for myself. <sup>68</sup> I know I didn't kill Meredith. <sup>69</sup> That's all I know for sure. <sup>70</sup> In these flashbacks that I'm having, I see Patrik as the murderer, but the way the truth feels in my mind, there is no way for me to have known because I don't remember FOR SURE if I was at my house that night. <sup>71</sup> The questions that need answering, at least for how I'm thinking are:

1. <sup>72</sup> Why did Raffaele lie? <sup>73</sup> (or for you) Did Raffaele lie?

2. <sup>74</sup> Why did I think of Patrik?

3. <sup>75</sup> Is the evidence proving my pressance [sic] at the time and place of the crime reliable? <sup>76</sup> If so, what does this say about my memory? <sup>77</sup> Is it reliable?

4. <sup>78</sup> Is there any other evidence condemning Patrik or any other person?

3. <sup>79</sup> Who is the REAL murder [sic]? <sup>80</sup> This is particularly important because I don't feel I can be used as condemning testimone [sic] in this instance.

<sup>81</sup> I have a clearer mind that I've had before, but I'm still missing parts, which I know is bad for me. <sup>82</sup> But this is the truth and this is what I'm thinking at this time. <sup>83</sup> Please don't yell at me because it only makes me more confused, which doesn't help anyone. <sup>84</sup> I understand how serious this situation is, and as such, I want to give you this information as soon and as clearly as possible.

<sup>85</sup> If there are still parts that don't make sense, please ask me. <sup>86</sup> I'm doing the best I can, just like you are.

<sup>87</sup> Please believe me at least in that, although I understand if you don't. <sup>88</sup> All I know is that I didn't kill Meredith, and so I have nothing but lies to be afraid of.

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